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DECEMBER MEETING, 1886.

THE meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, and Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS presided.

The Recording Secretary read his account of the last meeting.

The Librarian made his monthly report.

The Corresponding Secretary mentioned that Senator Hoar and Professor Johnston had accepted membership.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

It was rather with feelings of relief than of regret, that we heard, on the twenty-first of the last month, of the release from life of our honored associate Charles Francis Adams, for forty-five years a member of this Society, and for twelve years one of our Vice-Presidents. A brain overtaxed in the very highest tasks of public service in the crisis of our national struggle had prostrated his intellectual powers through the last five years. He was indeed one of the most honored and lingering of the veterans of our civil strife. No minister in the cabinet, no general in the field, performed a more exacting or a more effective service in leading on to triumph our imperilled cause. The exalted tributes of gratitude and veneration called forth from our whole country by his death, with the historical references and reminders accompanying them, have made the occasion in many respects like one of the centennial observances of great events in the century of our national life. The three generations of Adams span that whole term of years with unblemished virtues of character and the loftiest services of patriotism. For nearly a score of years the three were in life together. Those of us who were present at the severely simple services of the funeral, in the ancestral parish church in Quincy, had before us impressive memorials such as no parade of observance could have furnished. Grandsire and sire seemed to have part in the obsequies of the form lying in hushed repose. The monumental tablets and the busts of the

two Presidents welcomed the bearer of their name and honors to their higher fellowship.

It will be for those who, with appreciation and fidelity, discharge the work of biography for Mr. Adams to apply the balances of estimate and criticism to his political career, his party relations, and his official services in his own country. Only one single abating qualification has found utterance in the fulness of the tributes to his rigidly elevated character called forth by his death ; but this one qualification of full-hearted and admiring eulogiums has been so repeated and emphasized as to demand a passing notice. We are told that his bearing and demeanor, his close reserve, his personal elevation and dignity, his lack of the genial and winning attractiveness of word and manner, always helpful, but sometimes exercised where nobler qualities are wanting, — or, to express the whole deficiency as popularly defined, his lack of “personal magnetism” — greatly limited the range and measure of his public appreciation. Those who were so affected by his bearing are free to avow it. Others, who were not repelled by it, will recognize its protective and neutralizing power against some of the less manly and honorable wiles of political life. There are two poles of “magnetism,” and the repelling pole is often as needful and as serviceable as the attracting pole.

But this is to be said, and said with strength of word and thought, — the personal qualities of bearing and demeanor, of reserve and dignity, of calm self-command and of iron firmness, which may have limited one form of popularity for him here, were the foremost and the most effective qualities to meet the severe demands of the anxious crisis in our public affairs at the time of his diplomatic mission to England. As we pass through our minds the names of politicians and statesmen of that date who might have been sent on that mission, there is a seeming accord in the judgment, of course fortified by the trial and the result, that only such a man as Mr. Adams, in ability, aptitude, attainments, discretion, and temperament, — in fact, only he himself answered to the needs of his country. His inherited ancestral traits — and all of us seated here well know what they were, and it is pleasing to us to add, still are — had in two previous generations found occasions for their exercise near the Court of St. James. If nobility takes its significance from ancestral dignities and adds weight to official

position, we were well represented among peers. He went on that high errand weighed by the burden of its tremendous responsibilities. He felt it as it tasked all the full and rich resources of his knowledge, statesmanship, and patriotism. He felt it religiously, for a sentiment of the profoundest reverence was also in his inheritance and his character. He asked of the minister of the First Church in Boston, where he worshipped, that in the parting Sunday service there might be used the devout hymn of Dr. Johnson, — a favorite invocation with him, used also at his funeral, —

“ O Thou whose power o’er moving worlds presides ! ”

We recall the irritations and provocations of the hostility and duplicity of some of the governing powers of England — as they seemed, at that time, to be waiting for and ready to welcome the humiliation of our country — only that we may deepen our sense of obligation to him who so ably and grandly met the responsibilities of the crisis, through impediments, slights, and supercilious recognitions. To circumvent the plottings and stratagems of the most insidious foes of his country, and to hold a vacillating and double-minded foreign government to its treaty covenants, engaged his keen watchfulness alike upon shipyard and harbor and upon informal official intercourse with rival diplomats. All was conditioned upon his penetration, his self-command, his reserve of feeling, his discretion of utterance, and his conscience of simple duty in himself and in those with whom he had to deal. His diplomatic correspondence is the legacy which carries with it his pure and grateful memorial.

We have noticed, in the comments on his character and mission in some English journals, expressions of regret for some incidents in his treatment. Indeed, the word *remorse* is used in one of those papers. So let it stand. It is a good word when there is occasion for its use. But let our closing word of him be that of homage and esteem for an upright and gifted man, intrusted with a vast responsibility and found equal to it.

The Hon. E. R. HOAR, being called upon, spoke as follows :

I do not know that I can add anything to the impressive tribute which you, Mr. President, have rendered to the char-

acter of our deceased member. But the death of Mr. Adams has revived some memories which have to me so strong a personal interest that I may be pardoned for referring to them on this occasion.

When I had just started in my profession as a lawyer, one of my college classmates, of limited means, who had also adopted the legal profession, was allowed to occupy two rooms in an old low-studded building, at No. 23 Court Street, which belonged to John Quincy Adams. The rooms purported to be the law office of Charles Francis Adams; and the inner one was occasionally, but infrequently, used by his father for the transaction of his private business. I could never see any signs that Mr. C. F. Adams had any employment as a lawyer, and he did not go to his office with any regularity. It was there that I first made his acquaintance, and had the honor of an introduction to the ex-President.

The first occasion which brought me any nearer to Mr. Adams than the slight acquaintance derived from these casual meetings was when, as a member of the Senate of Massachusetts in 1845, he made a report to the Legislature on the expulsion of my father from Charleston, South Carolina, which was the only adequate notice of that event taken by the Commonwealth. From that time till his death I always regarded him with confidence and respect.

It was in the years from 1845 to 1848, when the division arose in the Whig party upon the questions of slavery, the Mexican war, and the annexation of Texas, — first recognized in the popular phrase of "Conscience and Cotton Whigs," and afterward in the organization of the Free Soil party, — that a little company used to gather in that Court Street office, of which, as I remember it, I am now the sole survivor. It consisted of Mr. Adams, Charles Allen of Worcester, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Dr. John G. Palfrey, Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Richard H. Dana, Jr., and myself. These are all that I now recall; and we held a great many meetings for consultation on public affairs, with the apparent determination of every person there to do what could be done in support of our views, irrespective of any personal consequence to ourselves or our prospects in life. Mr. Adams in these meetings devoted himself to the common object with an entire singleness of purpose which was to me

surprising and admirable. A man of leisure, of fortune, a scholar, well on the way to the prizes of public life, he not only disregarded his own apparent interests of ambition, but gave himself to any species of work most cheerfully. He even established a special newspaper, which he conducted not only with persistent drudgery, but at great expense. He was not a popular orator himself, but in that movement he was ready to pay the expenses of other men who were,—of Henry Wilson, or Charles Sumner, or of any one who could not so well afford the cost as he. He has sometimes had the reputation of being over-careful in the expenditure of money; but I know that he could spend it liberally, without ostentation but without stint, for an object that he approved.

No man was more to be trusted and steady in purpose than he. He presented to every duty, danger, or disaster the “*justum et tenacem propositi virum*.” He had none of the passion which characterized his father, and to an even greater extent his grandfather. He was not calculated to be the leader of a revolutionary party; but as an adviser, counselor, never wavering in adherence to what he had resolved should be done, few men of his time, while the anti-slavery contest lasted, gave to it a more vital support; and this because he brought to it, what popular orators and excited reformers did not always, and some of them signally failed to bring, — a belief in American methods, legal and constitutional. He believed American institutions adequate to all American ends. A patriot and an ardent American, his first desire was to make his country honorably distinguished among the nations of the earth, and to remove the stigma which was the worst blot upon her fair fame.

He carried the ancestral traits which he inherited, as he did the ancestral lineaments, visible to the eyes of all the world. He was a Puritan, in all that Macaulay's description of the second man in that composite character requires,—he was “proud, calm, inflexible, sagacious.” Whether history will estimate him as the equal of his father or grandfather in the point of capacity or achievement, it is not for me to say. They had some qualities, perhaps, as they had opportunities, which he had not.

But for great public services — the services which you, Mr. President, have so admirably set forth—rendered in a conspicuous post at a time of his country's peril, as well as for his

early and constant choice of the side of justice and freedom in the great controversy upon whose issue the destiny of America depended, I think he has well maintained the fame of his illustrious race, and is entitled to recognition as among the foremost men of the time, by this Society, by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and by the Nation.

The Hon. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL followed with these words:—

The leading traits of our late associate's character were so emphatic that one cannot hope to say anything of him which has not been said by those who have spoken before, or which shall not forestall those who are waiting to speak. Even had he not been a member and an officer of this body, it would have been eminently fitting that our Society should do honor to the memory of one who represented a family so truly historical, and which had so largely shared, himself not least, in the making of that history which it is our function to record. It would be hard to find another instance of hereditary qualities so strongly marked and handed down without impair, as from the first to the second, and from the second to the third Adams. That two of them should have been Presidents of the United States, that all three should have represented their country in its most important embassy, is remarkable, because it is an example, not of fortune, but of fitness. Few royal races can furnish a parallel to this transmitted virtue; and this race was truly royal in the Homeric sense,—shepherds of the people, fitted to lead and to ward by their courage, their wisdom, and their cogent sense of duty.

The late Mr. Charles Francis Adams was, in my judgment, second only to his grandfather in the service which it was his privilege to do for the Republic. I shall not speak of the sacrifices he made in behalf of anti-slavery, for these were the natural outcome of his character; nor of the leading part he took in the formation of the Free Soil party, for this was to be expected from his family traditions, which required of him that he should subordinate party to principle. I shall say a few words concerning his diplomatic services. Cradled in diplomacy, never was a man more fitted by character, by experience, by natural sagacity, and by attainments for the position it was his good fortune to occupy during our Civil War, and which it was still more our good fortune that he should have occupied.

When he arrived in London, he found nearly all the England with which an ambassador is brought into contact either actively or passively hostile, not so much to the people as to the cause he represented. For it was felt instinctively that this quarrel of ours was not about State Rights or Slavery, but between Democracy and that older Order of Things represented here by the system of human bondage. It was a war between America and Europe in fact, though not in form. Mr. Adams was treated with civility, indeed, but with chilling civility. He was made to feel at every turn that he represented a contingency, not a country. A man less self-centred or of less resource would have found the situation intolerably painful. It tried even him severely, but only to demonstrate more clearly of what oaken fibre he was made. Of a temper naturally impetuous, he was never provoked into indiscretion, or thrown off his guard by any temptation of immediate advantage. How often must his calm have been that of suppressed passion! I remember once saying to the late Mr. Moran, his Secretary of Legation, that they greatly misconceived Mr. Adams who thought him a cold man. "Cold!" he answered; "nobody that had ever seen the Northern Lights streaming up over that polished bald head of his so often as I have, would have called him so." None of our generals in the field, not Grant himself, did us better or more trying service than he in his forlorn outpost of London. Cavour did hardly more for Italy.

"Peace hath her victories
Not less renowned than war."

Though it was harder for him than for most men to be circumspect and prudent, he was both where his country was concerned. He never made a false step, or withdrew the foot once insupportably advanced. The late Lord Houghton told me that Mr. Adams was visiting him at Fryston when the news came of the capture of the "Trent." They had driven over to look at some ruin in the neighborhood. While taking their lunch, a horseman bloody with spurring, fiery-hot with haste, brought a telegram from the Legation to Mr. Adams, giving him the intelligence. "I'll drive you to the nearest station," said Lord Houghton, "and you can take the next train for London. Your luggage shall be sent after you." "But I have no intention of going to London," said Mr. Adams, quietly. "No intention of going to London!" "No; I shan't

let myself be seen there till I hear that a despatch has arrived from Washington." Fortunately there was no cable then, and there was always time for deliberate afterthought. But that Mr. Adams could be promptly decided when it was wise, and could take responsibility when it was necessary, he showed plainly enough in his note to Earl Russell in the affair of the Confederate rams.

After four years of arduous and ungrateful service he had his reward, as high character is sure to have. Englishmen are always ready to acknowledge in others the qualities they most value in themselves. They had found in him assurance of a Man, and were not slow in showing it. During the official years that remained to him, he was the centre of a universal respect, and enjoyed the honor and the troops of friends which success is never slow to bring. His country shared in the deference that was paid to her representative. But his great services had been remote from the scene of engrossing action; they had been unobtrusive, and his modesty or pride, which shunned all advertisement, kept them so. It was only at home that they failed of that universal recognition which so many marvels of the moment found it easy to win ere they flickered and went out forever. He was blamed for refusing a public reception in Faneuil Hall on his return from England, but, I think, unjustly. He naturally shrank from a demonstration which politicians whom he did not respect would have turned to their own advantage, and where eulogy to be acceptable must be mutual.¹

¹ Mr. Adams was not insensible to the applause of his countrymen, though scrupulous to shun even the appearance of courting it. I think the following verses worth printing here only because I know that they gave him pleasure. They are all that have survived of a versified speech recited at the first Commencement dinner after his return from England. What the context may have been I cannot now divine. I am indebted for a copy of them to the kindness of Mrs. Adams.

Had Adams stayed, this danger had not been,
This less than kindness 'twixt the more than kin;
He never wandered in the flowery way
That tempts to prattle most where least 's to say;
No phrase misspent, no reasoning loose of joint,
Justus et tenax, swerveless from his point,
Large of discourse where wisdom might be large,
Penurious where a word might harm his charge,
He served and suffered; but he won at last,
Praised by the brawny athletes he had cast;
Third of a stalwart race, to him is due
As ample meed as to the elder two;
Behold, they brighten from the canvas dim
To hear their praise renewed in praise of him!

There were some of us who hoped that he might have been nominated for the Presidency in 1876, and that a third Adams might have been elected in the Centennial year of that independence which the first so greatly helped to prepare for and to win. But he would not condescend even to the more innocent devices of candidacy, — not Coriolanus himself more contemptuous of them.

If we may not call him a great man, we cannot deny him many of the more important qualities of greatness. Now that he is gathered to his fathers, History will do him justice. She will not forget him, for she cannot. She will say of him: "The son of an illustrious father, himself the son of a father more illustrious, he was not degenerate. He was a man of wisdom, courage, integrity, and a lover of his country. He did great services in her behalf, and was satisfied with the silent consciousness of having done them. Perhaps his reward, if less conspicuous, is as precious as that of those by whose side he now lies, full of years and safe in honor. The victor who shunned the clamors of the Triumphal Way shall not miss the less fleeting praise of posterity."

At the close of Mr. Lowell's remarks, without formal resolution, the members of the Society, by rising, expressed their profound respect for the character and career of their late associate, and their grateful appreciation of the exalted service which he performed for the country.

The PRESIDENT then read the subjoined letter:—

GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., *President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

DEAR SIR,—I beg to offer for the acceptance of the Society the volumes of manuscripts named in the list herewith enclosed, the conditions to be the same as those attached to my gift of January, 1885,—namely, that these, with other documents given by me, shall be kept together and called the Parkman Collection, and that I shall have the right of taking any of them from the Library for consultation, returning the same when their purpose is answered.

Respectfully yours,

F. PARKMAN.

Boston, Dec. 9, 1886

List of Historical Documents given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Francis Parkman, Dec. 9, 1886.

Nine volumes relating to the Conspiracy of Pontiac, namely: —

One volume of documents from the State Paper Office.

One volume of documents from the Archives of Paris.

Two volumes of documents from the British Museum.

One volume of journals from various sources.

Four volumes of papers from public and private collections in various parts of England and America.

One volume entitled "Canada, Church and State," consisting of papers chiefly from the collection of the late Abbé Ferland, of Quebec.

One volume entitled "Documents sur le Canada," consisting of papers from the Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and other French sources.

One volume entitled "Voyage au Canada, 1751-1761," being a copy of a manuscript book lately acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

One volume entitled "Seven Letters of Menendez," being the despatches sent by Pero Menendez to Philip II., in 1565 and 1566, in relation to the massacre of the Huguenots in Florida. They are accompanied by a translation.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Winsor, Haynes, and Channing, was appointed to report what suitable acknowledgment should be made to Mr. Parkman.

Professor A. V. G. Allen, D.D., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Committee on the so-called Sharpless portraits of Washington asked for further time in which to make their report.

Dr. EVERETT said: —

I rise, Mr. President, to present — what is always more or less an ungracious task — the criticism of an Honorary Associate. There has recently been published a volume of "Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History," by our very eminent colleague Bishop Stubbs. He has acquired distinction as an historian which it would be very indecent for me to contest;

but I feel that in these lectures he has allowed himself to speak of men in whose reputation we are concerned as sons in a way unbecoming himself or them, and against which it is our duty to offer a courteous remonstrance.

Bishop Stubbs, as an historian, belongs to a school which perhaps I do not appreciate as I ought. He is remarkable for making great reference to original documents, and for speaking to historical scholars who are competent to draw the proper inferences from them. He apparently shrinks from undertaking to be an interpreter, or to expound history to those to whom the original data seem to require reading between the lines. These very lectures—delivered, under the statutory obligations of an Oxford professorship, to the public and not to his pupils—were avowedly a very disagreeable and perfunctory piece of work, not at all the sort of thing which he thinks it profitable for a professor of history to do; so it appears, at least, if I understand him correctly. But I never feel that I do understand him correctly. Whenever I read Bishop Stubbs his learning overpowers me. I dare not contest views based on such an array of contemporary records; yet I never lose an uneasy feeling that if I were equally learned, I could produce more weighty if not so numerous testimonies for a totally different view. I feel dazzled rather than enlightened; and I am not certain that I am not misled, or at least that I am not going astray from the ostentatious avoidance of direction.

In one of these lectures Bishop Stubbs dwells at length on the duty of throwing aside a partisan spirit in setting out facts; and he believes this is possible, even where the historian is himself a partisan. I quote at some length from him in order to illustrate my point (pages 108–110):—

“It seems as if no one has the spirit to undertake it [popular-history writing] unless he is stirred by something stronger than the desire of being useful, the desire of ventilating some party view or destroying the character of some partisan opposed to him.” A couple of confessedly extreme instances are given, and he proceeds: “The infection is not confined to coarse and vulgar minds; it defiles some of the very noblest works, especially historical works, that have ever been written. How can we recommend the man who wants to get up the rights of a case to a history like Macaulay’s? How easy must have been the victory of Macaulay’s hero if all his adversaries were the pitiful knaves

and fools that they appear to him to have been! I am not calling him a slanderer, — I do not believe that he was one, — or ignorant or careless, for he was most learned and accurate; nor insincere, for he was most sincere; but for all that he was as much a party writer as Clarendon, or Prynne, or Burnet, or Collier. . . . For my own part, I do not see why an honest partisan should not write an honest book if he can persuade himself to look honestly at his subject and make allowance for his own prejudices. I know it is somewhat critical work, and a man who knows himself one way may be quite ignorant of himself in another. I take Hallam as an illustrious example. Hallam knew himself to be a political partisan, and wherever he knew that political prejudice might darken his counsel, he guarded most carefully against it: he did not claim the judicial character without fitting himself for it; and where he knew himself to be sitting as judge he judged admirably, — so admirably that the advanced advocates even of his own views have long ago thrown him over, as too timid and temporizing for their purpose. Yet where he was not awake to his own prejudice in matters, — for instance, regarding religion and the Church, in which he seems to have had no doubt about his own infallibility of negation, — how ludicrously and transparently unfair he is!

“I do not see any necessity for this. I do not see why a man should not say once for all: ‘I like Charles I. better than Oliver Cromwell; I like the Cause for which Charles believed himself to be contending better than that for which Cromwell strove. Charles is attractive to me, Oliver is repulsive; Charles is my friend, Oliver is my foe; but am I bound to maintain that my friend is always right and my enemy always wrong; am I bound to hold Charles for a saint, Oliver for a monster; am I bound never to mention Charles without a sigh, Oliver without a sneer; am I bound to conceal the faults of the one and to believe every calumny against the other?’ If you like, put it the other way, — believe in the great Protestant statesman; treat Charles as the overrated fine gentleman, the narrow-minded advocate of a theory which he did not understand, the pig-headed maintainer of the cause you dislike. You may be a partisan, but can you not believe that if you believe your own side of the question, truth, when it is explored, will be found on your side? Misrepresentation, exaggeration, dishonesty of advocacy, will only disparage the presentment which you desire to make of your own convictions and your own prepossessions.”

I could continue the quotation; but I have given enough to show how very strong is Bishop Stubbs's appeal for an ingenuous, candid method of handling those periods of history where party views are likely to be aroused. Every one will admire it. It may seem to some to demand almost unnatural self-

control ; but many persons will thoroughly accept what is said about Macaulay. Hallam is more generally considered an impartial writer ; but Bishop Stubbs is by no means the first who has censured him for a partisan view of ecclesiastical history. Let us accept to the full the Bishop's canons of non-partisan writing, and let us see how he carries them out.

The thirteenth lecture is on an eminently abstruse subject, the History of the Canon Law in England. The author proceeds evenly enough, one might perhaps say tamely, till he comes to the reign of Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical legislation, and then we have these sentences : " To the true theologians, whether Catholic or Puritan, the whole was repulsive : we see this in the half-hearted, almost despairing adhesion of Archbishop Parker, and in the strong and justifiable protests of the Puritans ; and I mention them with respect here, because this opposition to unconstitutional tyranny is the only point in which I have any sympathy with them. Their tenets I hold to be untenable," — a remarkable selection of words, — " and their methods of promoting them by calumny, detraction, and coarse ribaldry I think entirely detestable ; but I do think they were right in denouncing the High Commission and all its works." Passing over about a page, which is strictly narrative, we have : " James failed to secure co-operation between the House of Commons and the Convocation, or the bishops and the Puritan divines. But this is no wonder. A House of Commons which could listen to Sir Herbert Crofts declaring that the church had declined ever since doctors began to wear boots ; or could expel Mr. Sheppard, M.P. for Shaftesbury, for explaining that ' dies Sabbati ' meant not the Sabaoth as they called it, but Saturday, and suggesting that as David danced before the Ark, the legality of dancing was a question on which the bishops might decide before it was altogether forbidden, — such a House of Commons was not likely to impress men like Hooker or Andrewes with respect, or King James either. It is clear, I think, that if the Puritan party had been well represented at the Hampton Court conference, James would have seen justice done to them ; but he saw their intolerance and their frivolity, and the balance remained undressed." Finally, with reference to the burning of Legate and his fellow Arian by Bishops King and Neill, he says : " The heretics who were burned were men whom the Puritans did

not care to defend; they would have burned them as willingly as they would have done the bishops."

I have quoted these passages continuously; the omissions do not, I think, affect the question of partisanship, which is the object of this paper.

It seems hardly necessary to add anything to these extracts themselves if we would prove that Bishop Stubbs disregards his own rules for impartiality as much as any writer that he has criticised. When we think of the position which the Puritans occupied first in England, and afterwards in America as well, for a century; when we consider what they aimed at, and what they achieved; when we set them against their opponents, — leaders against leaders, battalia against battalia, and camp followers against camp followers, — it must seem to us a strange inability to recognize merit in those whose views we dislike, that can pronounce that the party of Milton had no merit above the party of Clarendon except their opposition to the High Commission. I name these two men, because, being strictly contemporaries, they represent, in the highest degree, the concentration of those qualities which commended both parties to their countrymen. Surely the party which terminated in Milton was not in all respects hateful and contemptible beside that which terminated in Clarendon.

With reference to the Hampton Court conference, it seems only necessary to read the Bishop's comments in connection with the familiar account of it, drawn up by an enemy of the Puritans, and declared by themselves to be an unfair representation. To speak of King James as exhibiting a frank and judicial temper, and showing either then or ever an aversion to frivolity, is indeed a new presentation of history. It is recorded that he and his lords paused in the midst of this solemn conference to indulge in pleasantry on the demands of the Puritans. His expressed opinions of the value of the ring in marriage are hardly those of a man looking below show to substance. His declaration, of which we in New England know the force better than Bishop Stubbs seems to, — "that he would make the Puritans conform, or harry them out of the land," — is curiously at variance with the reasonable, open temper which the Bishop discerns in him. But if Reynolds and his associates appear feeble and fanatical, is nothing to be said of the bishops who were for sweeping away his perfectly correct and now

admitted criticism on the errors of the English Bible with a wholesale denunciation of the conceit of private judgment, and of the more than Horatian adulation with which they hailed their sovereign's inspired *dicta*? It is a strange sort of non-partisan candor that finds in the scene of Hampton Court the frivolity and fanaticism of the abusive Puritans kicking the beam against the scholarship and "sweet reasonableness" of the bishops when King James is holding the balance.

Then we have a joke on the impossibility of producing any sound impression on a House of Commons who would expel a man for questioning that Sunday was the "Sabaoth." Undoubtedly it was very absurd for that house to confound *Sabbath* and *Sabaoth*; it was just as absurd in Edmund Spenser and Francis Bacon, who were not exactly Puritans, nor unimpressible by church and king. It may be doubted if a denial that Sunday was the Sabbath would have met with much indulgence in Parliaments that have sat in Bishop Stubbs's lifetime. But what a total abandonment of all sound argument! How exactly is this "the draught of the fountain of laughter" against which Macaulay cautioned us in his Essay on Milton, when we deal with the Puritans! Bishop Stubbs pays a most emphatic compliment to the virtues and learning of Dean Hook. Would he think a Puritan controversialist dealt fairly with the Dean who dealt him a hit for speaking more than once of Madam Vermigli, the wife of Pietro Martire Vermigli, as "Mrs. Martyr," evidently not having the least conception of her husband's name?

Now for the last sentence I have quoted, about the burning of Legate and his fellow Arian. The Bishop says that the Puritans would have burnt them as readily as they would the bishops. And how readily was that? Did the Puritans in England, since the name was given them, ever burn anybody? Nobody knows better than Bishop Stubbs that his predecessors Neill (if that is the way to spell it) and King had the honor of burning the last martyrs for their creed in England. If he means — what is very true — that the Puritans were not Unitarians, why not say so without hinting at a taste for fiery torture that the Puritans never showed when they took such retaliation as they thought good? In an early chapter he expresses a wish that reviewers would say, "Here we differ from the author," instead of "This is a grave error." Yet he can-

not resist the chance, by an ambiguous phrase that Gibbon might have envied, of trying to reduce the Puritans to the level of prelates whom we have little doubt he would have enjoyed ejecting as much as he would Calamy or Baxter.

We are sensitive about the Puritans in Massachusetts. We have a right to be. They have stood for ten entire generations the sharpest and most persistent criticism that nations and continents could bring to bear. Not one of their acts was done in a corner, or done for anything but what they deemed the glory of God and the honor of England, Old and New. Their courage, their foresight, their energy, their endurance, have wrung applause from many, like Hume, who hated their principles, ridiculed their manners, and shrank from their warfare as thoroughly as our author. But here we know them as perhaps none in England have known them for two centuries. We know, to use words that Bishop Stubbs loves, "that things were so ordered and settled by their endeavors, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, have been established among us;" and it has appeared to me not seemly that this thoroughly partisan attack, following on such an elaboration of non-partisan views of historical writing, should fail to meet with a protest in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Recording Secretary read a note from Mr. W. S. Appleton, dated Hanover, in Germany, and communicating a translation of an article, from the "*Illustirte Zeitung*," on the discovery and temporary settlement of America by the Northmen.

Mr. PARKMAN spoke of the great number of documents relating to our Revolutionary history which exist abroad, and that it would be most desirable if an index of them could be prepared. Since this work would be too great for any private individual to accomplish, he believed that the Government would undertake it if this and other historical societies would indorse it. On his motion, which was seconded by Dr. Hale, Messrs. Parkman, Chamberlain, Hale, Everett, Haynes, and Goodell were appointed to consider and report upon the subject.

Professor TORREY spoke of the judicial impartiality of Hallam, but said that a distinction must be made between the secular and the ecclesiastical parts of his history. He men-

tioned the changes which had been made in the notes in the last edition, and the author's modified estimates of churchmen, as proving that he grew mild as he grew old.

Mr. BANGS made the following remarks:—

An interesting letter has been received by me from A. M. Haines, Esq., of Galena, Illinois, about the Major-General Haynes mentioned in the last volume of the Proceedings at page 256.

It seems that General Haynes did not bear the arms ascribed to him by Guillim, which are those of the Reading, Berks, family; but used, on official documents signed by him as Governor of Jersey in 1651, the arms of the Shropshire and Dorset families of the name, viz.: Or, on a fesse gules, three bezants, and, in chief, a greyhound current, sable, colored of the second. Crest, an eagle displayed standing on a tortoise.

In his will, dated Oct. 7, 1654, he styles himself "Collonell James Heane, late Governor of Jersey," and speaks of "being commanded beyond the Seas in a service for the propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus and weakeing the power of the Pope and Antichrist and making way for the comfort of the people of God."

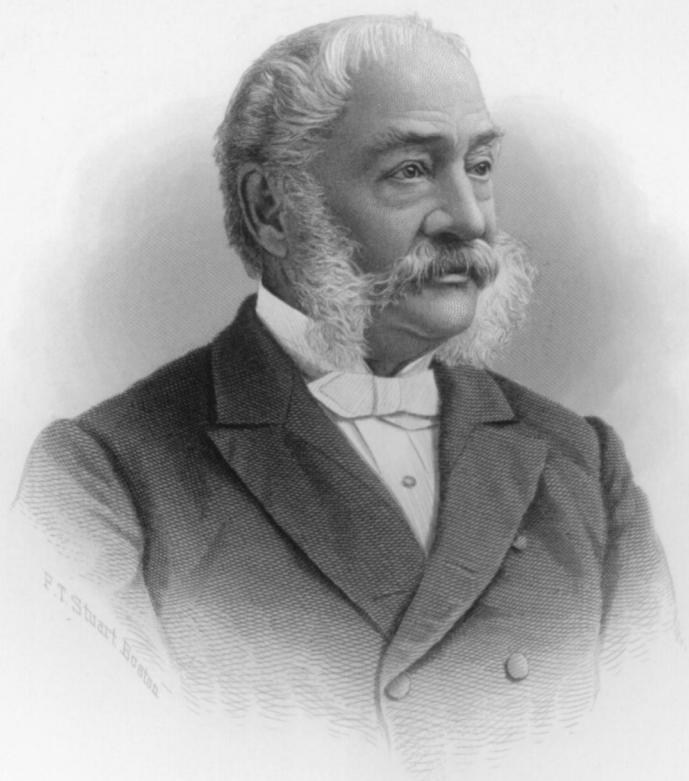
Mr. Haines thinks the General was not related to Governor John Haynes of New England, and adds that he erred in stating¹ that Nicholas Haynes was the grandfather of Governor John. It has not been possible to trace Governor John beyond his father John.

The General was son of David Heane and Mary Hawkins, of Little Deane, Gloucestershire, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Walter, of Norfields, Gloucestershire, May 15, 1636.

Mr. Haines, who has, as he says, "been for nearly forty years engaged on both sides of the ocean in the investigation of the Haines, or Haynes, family," is sure that both he himself and our associate Professor Henry W. Haynes are of Major-General Haynes's kin, and entitled to bear the same arms.

Dr. PEABODY presented a memoir of the late Rev. Dr. S. K. Lothrop.

¹ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. vol. xxiv. p. 423.



S. R. Loomis

MEMOIR
OF
REV. SAMUEL KIRKLAND LOTHROP, D.D., LL.D.
BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

JOHN HOSMER LOTHROP, a native of New Haven and a graduate of Yale College (1787), established himself in Oneida County, New York, toward the close of the last century, and shortly afterward became a citizen of Utica. Educated as a lawyer, and with abilities that would have made him eminent at the bar, he had little taste for the details of his profession, and was at different times a farmer, an editor, and for the last fifteen years of his life cashier of a bank. He was a man of high literary culture and capacity, of fine conversational powers, with a rich vein of wit and humor, and of a character that commanded equally profound respect and warm affection. He seems to have possessed a singular facility of enjoying life to the full, without ever being unmindful of the higher obligations of integrity, industry, faithfulness, and beneficence.

In 1797 he married Jerusha Kirkland, daughter of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, for many years missionary to the Indians in Oneida County, and having his home and the centre of his mission not far from Utica. He manifested, though in so widely different a sphere, endowments no less large, varied, and versatile than those which gave his son a distinguished reputation as a preacher and an educator. Mrs. Lothrop shared in full with her brother the heritage of parental gifts and graces. With the domestic virtues which made her household happy, and the benignity and kindness that won the love of all who knew her, she united qualities that fitted her for the foremost place in society which she could not but hold, and a mental vigor and vivacity that remained unimpaired till she had exceeded her threescore years and ten.

Of the eight children of this marriage, all of whom illustrated in their traits of mind and character the doctrine of heredity, the third was Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, who was born in Whitesborough, near Utica, Oct. 13, 1804. Until his thirteenth year he remained with his parents, and in his early boyhood attended several schools, of which we know little except the names of the teachers. In 1817 his uncle, Rev. Dr. Kirkland, then President of Harvard College, virtually adopted him, and assumed the charge of his education. The change of residence, if advantageous, was not at the outset agreeable. Instead of a large family, overflowing with mirth and jollity, he had his solitary room in a bachelor's house, with the most generous provision for his comfort, but with no companionship that could replace that of his home. He was for a part of the time instructed by private tutors, of whom Ralph Waldo Emerson was one, and for a little while he was at a classical school in Cambridge. Made restless, no doubt, by the frequent change of instructors, and not without marked fitnesses and proclivities for the military profession, he felt a strong desire for a West Point training; and his uncle took preliminary steps which would probably have issued in his appointment, had not the persuasion of his elder brother prevailed with him in behalf of a college education. In 1819 he was sent to Lancaster, and remained there for two years, in the family of Rev. Dr. Thayer and under the tuition of Solomon P. Miles. With the members of Dr. Thayer's family he formed intimacies always cherished and held precious, and terminated only by death; and to Mr. Miles, who is remembered with reverence and love by all his surviving pupils, he ascribed enduring influence of the highest order, which was still felt by him, in common with his fellow-students, for his first two college years,—as Mr. Miles then filled the office of college tutor, leaving the long tradition of his rare teaching power, his genial manners, and his thoroughly noble character.

Young Lothrop, returning to Cambridge with his teacher, entered the class that graduated in 1825. A change had meanwhile occurred in his uncle's family. Professor Farrar and his wife had taken up their residence with the President, and Mrs. Farrar, a daughter of Rev. Dr. Buckminster of Portsmouth, was at the head of the household. She was one

of the most lovely of women, and, having constantly with her one or more of her sisters, made the old official mansion a rallying-place for the best society of Boston and its environs. The youngest of her sisters from the first attracted Lothrop's admiration, and we might say almost his homage, less by her singularly winning grace of countenance and manner than by a character in which it was hard to tell whether sweetness or strength was predominant. She made herself necessary to his well-being by the inspiration of a soul that in very childhood had passed through the severest discipline of an educating Providence, and had been trained in the loneliness of orphanhood to noble aspiration, high endeavor, and firm religious faith and trust. She had seemed to him his own better self, before either of them contemplated the relation which subsequently gave them many years of happiness in their united life.

Though Lothrop did not distinguish himself as a scholar, his college life was for him pre-eminently a liberal education. At his uncle's house he made the acquaintance of the kinds of persons from whose intercourse a young man could derive the greatest benefit, and at the same time, while a gentleman by nature and inheritance, he obtained social culture of inestimable value. In the class-rooms he was a diligent and retentive hearer of full courses of lectures by such men as Chief Justice Parker, Drs. Bigelow, Jackson, and Warren, and Professors Farrar and Ticknor, — lectures learned, profound, and eloquent, which have been replaced, for receptive minds, by nothing so instructive and so stimulating in more recent methods. He had, too, always the faculty of imbibing, with little labor and almost unconsciously, whatever was best in books, formal discourse, or conversation.

Immediately on graduating, Mr. Lothrop entered the Cambridge Divinity School, and gave his whole mind and soul to preparation for the work which became his lifelong joy. He had for his principal teachers, on the Evidences and Doctrines of Christianity, the elder Dr. Ware, who to the best learning of his time added a fairness and impartiality that never failed to do full justice to his theological opponents; and in the Interpretation of the New Testament, Andrews Norton, who wielded the keenest scalpel of unsparing criticism with a lowly and adoring faith, and whose solemn stress on sacred

words and themes never died upon the inward ear of any one of his pupils. In the last year of his student life Mr. Lothrop was employed as an agent of the then infant American Unitarian Association, to visit various parishes in the interior of Massachusetts in order to interest them in the objects of the Association and to secure contributions to its funds. On this mission he was warmly received and seconded by the clergy, enlisted many willing helpers in the cause in which he was engaged, and gave sure prestige of his success as a preacher.

Leaving the Divinity School in the summer of 1828, he supplied the pulpit of the Unitarian church in Washington for several Sundays, and would probably have been invited to a permanent pastorate, had he encouraged the movement. But he was unwilling to live where he would be surrounded by all the wrongs and evils of slavery without the power of administering any relief or remedy. He subsequently preached as a candidate for settlement in the First Church of Beverly, and would have accepted an invitation there tendered to him, had not there been in the parish a great diversity of religious opinion, and a large minority opposed to the settlement of any one not belonging to the so-called orthodox party. He had there many warmly attached friends, who regarded their failure to secure his services as one of the greatest disappointments of their lives; and there are at this moment aged members of the church who retain a vivid recollection of the rich promise of his novitiate and of the intensely strong feeling in his favor.

After closing his engagement at Beverly, he preached at Dover, New Hampshire, for a new Unitarian society, which was started under the most propitious auspices. The town was growing rapidly, the large water-power of the Cochecho having been brought into the service of the then new and prosperous manufacturing interest of New England. There were old men of prominent position and high character, who had retained the tradition of liberal theology from the time of the pastorate of Dr. Belknap half a century before. Among these were Dr. Green, afterward the centenarian senior graduate of Harvard College; Hon. William Hale, who had been well known as a member of Congress, and as a foremost man in every great public cause and interest; and several

other men of like reputation and influence, who gave weight and strength to the new enterprise, which was not the result of a church quarrel, but seemed fully authorized by the increase of the population and the actual demand for added means of religious instruction and influence. A large and costly church edifice had been built, and it was desired that simultaneously with its completion a regular pastorate might be established. Mr. Lothrop was unanimously invited to this office, with the expression of the most earnest desire for his services, and with the feeling that the well-being of the Society was largely contingent on his acceptance. He accepted the charge, and was ordained on the 18th of February, 1829, the church having been dedicated on the 17th. His ministry, so far as he personally was concerned, fully realized the best hopes that had been formed of it. The Society had not, indeed, the rapid increase that had been anticipated; for the town had just then ceased to grow, and for many subsequent years no more than held its own. But he began his work with a congregation by no means small in numbers, and weighing much more than it counted; and during his stay the increase was as great as could have been reasonably expected in a population that had become stationary. His sermons had, indeed, the freshness and vigor of youth, yet the soberness and soundness of thought that indicated a maturity beyond his years. He became, at the same time, very dear to his people in his pastoral relations; and only a few months ago, at the installation of a remote successor, there were survivors of his ministry who still dwelt with loving reverence on the memory of his assiduous kindness and his offices of tender sympathy in the homes of his flock.

On June 3, 1829, Mr. Lothrop married Mary Lyman Buckminster, who had filled so large a part in his life at Cambridge, and who for nearly thirty years shared in full with him all cares and duties which could be so divided, and while never transcending her own proper sphere, subsidized with her cheerful energy his labor in every department of service and in every worthy cause. No sketch of his life would be complete without a fervent tribute to her exceptional ability and excellence. Her household was as wisely ordered and governed as if she had had nothing else to do; her children were the subjects of as diligent nurture and as watchful training as if

she had had no other charge ; her home was made as attractive to friends and to strangers as if hospitality had been her sole concern ; and yet there was no interest of the church or the community that escaped her cognizance, and no occasion for counsel, sympathy, or active co-operation that did not find her always ready with the right word, with the needed office of kindness, or with influence so timed and directed as to insure its due efficacy. She had, too, a marvellous buoyancy of spirit. Often suffering and long an invalid, she was never depressed, and never willing to throw upon others any burden which she was able to sustain unaided ; and to the very last she took thought for every one but herself, and for herself only as relieved from all solicitude on her own account by the almighty and ever-present love of God.

In June, 1834, Mr. Lothrop was inducted into the pastorate of the church in Brattle Square, in Boston, as the successor of Rev. Dr. Palfrey, who had accepted a professorship at Cambridge. This church at that time was second to no other church of any denomination in New England in pecuniary ability, in the high social standing of its members, in the number of distinguished men in various professions and in the public service who were its regular attendants, and in the prestige given to it by those who had occupied its pulpit. To go no farther back than the present century, Dr. Thacher, regarded as the most acceptable preacher of his time, had been succeeded by Joseph Stevens Buckminster, whom his admirers were wont to call the modern Chrysostom ; he, by Edward Everett, who in his subsequent career hardly surpassed the fame of his early manhood ; and he, by Dr. Palfrey, who, with less eloquence, transcended them all in the transparent depth of his ethical thought and reasoning, united with a no less profound religious feeling. Such a church, with such a history, looked far and aimed high in filling the vacancy. It could have had its choice, not only among unsettled ministers, but, with few exceptions, among established pastors of kindred faith. The congregation were determined to have the best minister attainable, and were well fitted to make a wise selection, alike by their own capacity of discernment and by the high standard of professional merit with which they had been so long familiar. Mr. Lothrop was chosen, not merely for the good promise of his youth, but on ample evidence of

its fulfilment in a pastorate of more than five years in a church which, on account of its recent origin, the intelligence of its members, and the vigilant criticism of a surrounding public, had made large demands on its minister. The reputation thus acquired, he from the first fully sustained in his new position. While his power as an orator was of a very high order, he never trusted to it. Those who could look no deeper admired him, indeed, for graceful rhetoric and delivery; but the most serious of his hearers found that he satisfied their spiritual needs and aspirations, and those of the strongest intellectual fibre saw in him their peer. He was also to the last degree watchful, faithful, and kind as a pastor, and established for himself a very dear place in the homes and the warm affection of his flock, so that as long as he lived there were many of those that had attended his ministry who on occasions of domestic joy or grief were willing to have no other service than his. No man ever had a more perfectly harmonious, devoted, loyal congregation, or one more prosperous than his was during his first twenty or twenty-five years.

The Brattle Square Church had a parsonage bequeathed by Madam Hancock, — a large square three-storied house, on Court, near the corner of Tremont Street. With this, as her brother's home, Mrs. Lothrop had precious associations of her childhood. Once a quiet spot, with surroundings almost rural, it had already become noisy with constant passing night and day, yet was still central as to society, and too much so as to the ease of demands on a minister's valuable time. To claims on his sympathy, counsel, and active assistance Dr. Lothrop never learned to say No, unless it were the honest and irrevocable No of disapproval. His known affability and beneficence invited applications from all kinds of people, and in behalf of a large diversity of interests, educational, social, and religious. He had always a hospitable ear, and entered as fully as was in his power into the merits of every case; so that his name or recommendation uniformly implied an exercise of judgment, with a favorable issue. The amount of miscellaneous labor thus cheerfully assumed was far beyond any estimate that could be formed by one who had not been an inmate in his family. He thus had clients more or less dependent on his kind offices in every Christian denomination,

of every condition in life, of every race and color, — a charity so broad as to seem indiscriminate, yet so wise as to be almost never deceived.

Dr. Lothrop served for many years on the Boston School Committee, and it is believed that he devoted more of time, thought, and well-directed labor to the educational interests of the city than any other person on the Board; for he was always a member and generally the chairman of one or more of the most important sub-committees, and it was impossible for him to put less than thorough work into whatever he undertook. There must be in the archives of the Board many scores of pages in his handwriting, attesting the carefulness of his investigations into the merits of teachers, books, and systems, and his elaborate treatment of various subjects appertaining to school administration and discipline. The teachers, too, always had in him a friend who was ready with his advice and his sympathy, and a patient listener to their grievances, needs, and claims.

His administrative capacity led to the desire for his services in various public charities. For many years and till the last year of his life, he was chairman of the distributing committee of the Congregational Charitable Society for the relief of the widows and children of Congregational ministers in Massachusetts (including such persons in Maine as were beneficiaries when Maine became a State). At an early period he visited every person who had a claim on this charity, and ascertained by suitable inquiry her position, resources, and wants; and from that time onward he maintained a system of correspondence by which he kept himself so well informed of the condition of the recipients of the annual donation, that the allotments could be made with special reference to the circumstances of each case.

A not unlike labor was assumed by him and conducted for a long series of years in behalf of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America. This society, of which he was long secretary, half a century ago, in addition to missions among the Gay Head and the Marshpee Indians, supported preachers and teachers in a considerable number of isolated settlements, especially in the Isles of Shoals, and in several small islands off the coast of Maine. Dr. Lothrop, when first made secretary, visited all these

stations at a time when such an enterprise was no holiday excursion, but could be accomplished only by wearying journeys and by navigation neither pleasant nor always safe. Afterward he did not content himself with semi-annual reports, but communicated unofficially with the missionaries and with trustworthy persons in their neighborhood, to ascertain from time to time the exact condition of their charge. The missionaries, too, always had at his house the kindest reception, and were seldom permitted to leave Boston empty-handed.

While Dr. Lothrop's almsgiving was large as compared with his ability, he always gave himself with his other gifts; and no man ever fulfilled more thoroughly the prophet's prescription, "that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh." There were many of the needy and desolate to whom his words of kind regard and good cheer were more precious than gold. The poor old negro Darby Vassall, born in slavery, and in his latter years supported by the Brattle Square Church, of which he had been long a member, had no enjoyment equal to his not infrequent half-hour in his pastor's study, where he was received as cordially as if he had been a stranger of distinction. Indeed, it was through his pastor's agency, to the discomfort of some fastidious pewholders, that he was brought down from his solitary place in the negro-loft above the organ, and comfortably seated beside the pulpit. Dr. Lothrop had no more loving friends than those who but for him would have been friendless. His hospitality, while always made welcome to those who could reciprocate it, was extended with equal readiness to those who could claim it only because they needed it. The guests whom it was charity and sometimes absolute self-sacrifice to receive were never made to feel themselves on an inferior footing to those whose society was a privilege. Young men who had no home were invited to his house, solely in order to keep them from unworthy associations; and on a Sunday evening one seldom failed to see there raw and inexperienced youth, who had nothing to bestow, but much to receive, in society the like of which, but for his thoughtful kindness, would have been beyond their reach. When the Young Men's Christian Union was established, it but continued the work which, on a smaller scale and in his quiet way, he had been doing for many years.

Dr. Lothrop's extra-parochial labor, which during the earlier part of his ministry was possible only for a man of exceptional vigor and working power, was somewhat lessened when, in 1855, his parish obtained leave of the Supreme Court to exchange the parsonage, which in the perpetual whirl and turmoil of one of the busiest street-corners had become almost uninhabitable, for a less central site in Chestnut Street. He surrendered no regular philanthropic work or charge, and to the very last his house was the resort of no small number of applicants for his countenance, aid, and furtherance; but he was less in the way of the class of agents and emissaries for all sorts of enterprises, wise and foolish, by whom ministers are wont to be beset, and for whom no name can be so appropriate as one borrowed from an old English statute, — "sturdy beggars." This exemption, so far as it went, was a welcome relief.

He had, however, been but a little while happily settled in his new home when it was made desolate by the one great sorrow of his life. Mrs. Lothrop died, Jan. 20, 1859, after a long illness borne with the most cheerful resignation and in the "hope full of immortality." Then ensued ten years of widowed life, still further darkened by severe illness in his family; and though there was no abating of heart-hospitality, his house was for that period less than it had been the resort and refuge of all who could claim its shelter.

On the 22d of November, 1869, Dr. Lothrop married Alice Lindsey Webb, daughter of Rev. Abner and Mrs. Catharine Sedgwick Webb, whose eulogy, we trust, may not be written in full for many years, yet of whom it ought to be said here, that no wife can have ministered to her husband's happiness more tenderly and efficiently, or can have received a larger return in unlimited confidence and grateful love.

During the earlier years of his ministry Dr. Lothrop had but few and short seasons of respite from professional duty. City churches were not then closed, and hardly thinned, in the summer; and vacations for the clergy were the rare exception, not, as now, the rule. With the change of habits he had longer seasons of relief; and when the summer discomfort of the parsonage became absolutely unendurable, he purchased a country residence on Milton Hill, where he enjoyed the change of air and scene, holding himself in readiness for professional

duty. In later years and with longer seasons of rest, he sought recreation and renewed strength for his work in extended travel on both sides of the Atlantic, everywhere finding friends or forming friendships, and while alive to all in nature and in art that is grand or beautiful, deriving even greater delight from social intercourse and companionship.

Circumstances entirely beyond Dr. Lothrop's control led to the decline, and ultimately to the dissolution, of his church, — a result to which he can be regarded as having contributed in no form or way, except by the undue confidence reposed in the prestige of his ability and success as sufficient to overcome obstacles in their very nature insuperable. The church edifice was no longer easily or pleasantly accessible. Taverns and old-clothes shops had usurped what was once an aristocratic quarter. The parishioners had all removed to distant parts of the city or to suburban towns. The minister, in Chestnut Street, was much nearer to the church than most of the pew-holders. But still hardly any one left the church, or manifested discontent with the long Sunday's walk or drive. The slow decline of nature, unremarked from Sunday to Sunday by the constant worshippers, yet painfully visible to those whose attendance was at rare intervals, was the only change. Old families were one by one broken up by death or removal, and new families, with attractive churches and ministers not far from their homes, were not inclined to seek a remote place of worship in a part of the city out of the range of their week-day cognizance. But those who survived and stayed loved the spot, and were tenderly attached to the building itself, which in its interior was unsurpassed in the impressiveness of its massive and richly ornate architecture. The necessity of migration was perceived and urged by the minister and by many of the younger members of the congregation; but there were venerable men who could not tolerate such a thought, and to whom their age and worth gave preponderant influence. That a religious society which had filled so important a place in the history of Boston, and had been made illustrious by a series of pastors of so pre-eminent praise in the New England churches, should become extinct, or rest under more than a very brief depression, seemed to these lovers of the past absolutely impossible. Had the church had a less brilliant record, or had the building been less dear and precious,

or had the minister shown diminished capacity to instruct and edify his hearers, the warning would have been taken when it first found voice. Nor when taken did it seem too late. The Society, though reduced in numbers, was united and strong, and it remained strong, though, while the new church was in building, several of its most important members were removed by death. The old building, with its site which was very valuable for business uses, was sold for what seemed nearly sufficient to replace it in a more favorable locality, and among the plans suggested was the removal of the old interior and erecting stone walls for its reception. But other and seemingly wiser counsels prevailed, and issued in a magnificent building, with a tower which is fitly regarded as unequalled in its kind in America, and with an interior both grand and beautiful, at a cost considerably exceeding a quarter of a million of dollars, leaving a heavy debt to be liquidated by the sale of pews.

This burden would have been duly assumed and thrown off, had the building been adapted to Protestant worship. There remained a sufficient number of substantial members and families to start the Society hopefully on its new career, and there was no lack of means or of willingness to meet the pecuniary obligation. But the dedication service was inexpressibly discouraging. The church was crowded with an admiring and expectant audience. Dr. Lothrop delivered a sermon of rare ability and merit, and with undiminished power of eloquent utterance; but for nine tenths of those present nothing reached the ear but a confused and multitudinous reverberation from high blank walls. Of course the attempt at the immediate sale of pews was a failure. Various remedial experiments were tried, but with little or no benefit; and though most of the regular members of the Society still attended worship, both speaking and hearing required wearisome effort.

The last service in the old church was held on the 30th of July, 1871; the dedication of the new church was on Dec. 22, 1873. On the completion of his seventieth year, Oct. 13, 1874, in accordance with a purpose previously announced and well known, Dr. Lothrop wrote a letter to his Society, asking for the early choice and settlement of a colleague pastor, and expressing his readiness to make "relinquishments that will

prevent its imposing any heavier burden on the Society." The parish passed votes in favor of this proposal, at the same time tendering to their pastor the assurance of their gratitude for his "long and valuable services." In pursuance of this vote, one candidate for settlement was employed, with no definite result, and with no further action in the premises. Dr. Lothrop himself occupied the pulpit for the greater part of the time till the next summer vacation. On July 22, 1875, he wrote another letter to the Society, recommending the immediate adoption of measures for the diminution of the debt, setting before them the necessity of so remodelling the pulpit and the portions of the building adjacent to it as to obviate the acoustic difficulties, to which end plans involving no very large expenditure had been proposed, asking for leave of absence till the time for reopening the church the following year, and relinquishing his entire salary for that period, and thenceforward in case of the settlement of a colleague, in which case he was to retain only the title of senior pastor and the occupancy of the parsonage. The leave of absence was granted, and the relinquishment of salary accepted.

On the 19th of August Dr. Lothrop sailed for Europe, with the design and expectation of thus precluding all difficulty and embarrassment in the choice of a colleague. On the 26th of September the church was reopened, but after three Sundays, on two of which a candidate for settlement preached, it was closed, and the services of public worship were suspended. In subsequent communications from Paris and London, and after his return to Boston, Dr. Lothrop urged earnestly upon the Society such methods of procedure as should insure its continued existence and renewed prosperity, tendering his own resignation, so as to leave the room clear and unembarrassed for the establishment of a new ministry. He was answered by repeated expressions of attachment, reverence, and love; and his resignation, at first laid on the table, with the request that he would "aid in preserving the Society by retaining the position of pastor," was at length accepted, only on his persisting in it, after an interval during which no efficient action was taken toward either resuming service in the church or providing another place of worship.

The correspondence, minutes of meetings, and other transactions of the parish with reference to this whole subject were

printed by vote of the proprietors of the church. They have a biographical value, as illustrating Dr. Lothrop's practical wisdom, his love of his profession, his whole-hearted devotedness to his church, and the graces of temper and spirit which crown his record as a Christian minister. The trial was for him to the last degree severe, and attended by not a few circumstances that aggravated its bitterness; but it was sustained with perfect dignity and self-respect, with the utmost serenity, and without a single uttered or written word which he could have wished to recall. His whole life can have afforded no test of character to be compared with this, and no man could have passed through such an ordeal with more entire unselfishness, gentleness, sweetness, and kindness.

The final action of the Brattle Square Society in relation to Dr. Lothrop took place on the 22d of November, 1876, when it was —

"Voted, That the proprietors of the church in Brattle Square accept the resignation of their pastor, the Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, D.D.

"Resolved, That, in so doing, they desire to reiterate their sense of his fidelity as a Christian minister, their esteem and affection toward him as a friend, their respect for him as a citizen, expressed in the vote at the meeting at which his resignation was tendered and declined; and at the same time to acknowledge the generosity which has marked his various offers for the relief of the Society in its embarrassments, and their regret that the failure of all attempts in that direction has seemed to leave him no alternative but to insist upon this course. They had hoped that only death would sever the bond between them, but they cannot be insensible that duty to him requires them to respect his decision. Though the official tie which binds them with him is broken, his place in their hearts will not be lost. While he lives, he may feel the assurance of their affectionate regard, of their interest in his prosperity, of their prayer that health may be continued to him, that he may experience the choicest blessings of the Divine love, and that, in the peace and serenity of a tranquil old age, secure in the affection of friends, the respect of this community in which he has so long held an honored place and done so much efficient service, and the love of those in whose behalf his youth and manhood have been spent, he may find much to reconcile him to the ways of Providence, by which the work to which his life has been consecrated is brought to a close.

"Voted, That Dr. Lothrop be invited to continue to occupy the parsonage house so long as he may do so without a violation of the conditions under which it is holden by the Society."

After Dr. Lothrop's resignation, his life was quiet and uneventful, but industrious and happy. He remained in the undisturbed possession of the parsonage, which had become very dear to him. His services as a preacher were often sought, and never more highly valued. He maintained his familiarity with current literature, and with social and public interests of every kind. He was busy with mind and pen, and none the less inclined to be a faithful worker because his time was at his own free disposal. His study was still the resort of persons of every class and condition, who craved counsel, sympathy, furtherance, or substantial aid. He retained his official relation to many public charities till his death, and resigned the most onerous of them only in the last year of his life. His freshness and vigor of mind were unimpaired, and his conversational power suffered no decline. He appeared, for the most part, in even robust bodily health. Yet he had, for several of his last years, some organic affection of the heart, which made it impossible for him to walk except for short distances, and occasioned several severe though brief paroxysms of *angina pectoris*. In May of the present year (1886), he took, with his wife, a long journey, visited old and made new friends, bore the weariness of travel with as little discomfort as in earlier years, had a season of very great enjoyment, and returned, as it seemed, with improved health and in excellent spirits. A few days after his return he was suddenly attacked by pneumonia, and after an illness of but forty-eight hours died on the 12th of June, 1886.

As a pulpit orator, Dr. Lothrop had all the external advantages that can give effect to uttered discourse, — a presence commanding and winning, a grace of attitude, movement, and gesture natural and unstudied, which art might have approached without attaining, and a voice of remarkable power and compass, flexible to the apt expression of every varying mood of mind and feeling. But his success as a preacher, while aided by these gifts, was in no wise dependent upon them. It was "apples of gold" that he put into "baskets of silver." His sermons indicated a large and versatile intellectual ability, accomplished scholarship, intimate knowledge of the Scriptures and of questions appertaining to their origin, interpretation, and use, deep thought, and profound religious feeling. They satisfied alike strong thinkers and devout

Christian believers. There never was a time when he was not the preferred preacher with those under his ministry, and the many for whom it was inevitable that they should leave it would have rejoiced to carry it with them.

For many years his sermons were carefully written, though his capacity of ready utterance was in other ways put to frequent test, and always happily. But in the latter years of his ministry he wrote no sermons, and yet gained rather than lost by the change. His unwritten sermons were thought out most elaborately, and in great part mentally composed in word and phrase, and then committed not to paper, but to a wonderfully retentive memory. These discourses were especially noteworthy for traits very rare in the best extempore preaching, — conciseness, method, and the lack of repetition.

Dr. Lothrop's professional reputation was commensurate with his merits. Few ministers have been called to officiate on so numerous and so important public occasions, and his published occasional sermons in every instance fully justified the choice that rested on him. In his own denomination he held a foremost place, as was evinced by his election for several successive years, and so long as he was willing to serve, as President of the American Unitarian Association. He was conservative in his theological opinions, yet at the same time progressive, and with a mind always open to views of truth that had a just claim on his consideration.

The prominent features of Dr. Lothrop's personal character have appeared in the narrative of his life. Suffice it to say that no man can have been more or more worthily endeared and cherished than he, in the love of family, kindred, and more friends than could be numbered, or can have left a memory richer in the many, diverse, and resplendent traits and habits of spirit and of life that are comprised in that highest of all titles, the Christian gentleman.

Dr. Lothrop's children were Thornton Kirkland, now a lawyer in Boston; Eliza Lee, widow of the late Charles D. Homans, M.D.; Joseph Stevens Buckminster, who died in infancy, in 1838; Mary, wife of Oliver W. Peabody, of Boston; Olivia Buckminster, wife of Lewis William Tappan, Jr., of Boston, who died in 1878; and Samuel Kirkland, of Boston.

The only books published by Dr. Lothrop are "The Life of Samuel Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians," in Sparks's American Biography, and "The History of the Church in Brattle Square." He published many sermons, addresses, and other pamphlets. He was for a considerable time one of the editors of the "Christian Register."

Dr. Lothrop received the degree of D.D. from Harvard University in 1852; that of LL.D., from Hamilton College in 1885. He became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1854, and at the time of his death he was the ninth on the list in the order of election. He was also Corresponding Secretary, and afterward President of the Massachusetts Humane Society; a member of the Society of Cincinnati; Vice-President of the Boston Provident Association; President of the Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society; Secretary, and afterward President of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America; President of the American Unitarian Association; President of the Society for Promoting Theological Education; President of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches; for some time Treasurer of the Massachusetts Congregational Convention; President of the Children's Mission to the Destitute; Vice-President of the Institute of Technology; Trustee of the Milton Academy; a member of the Thursday Evening Club; and for fifty years a member, and for a large part of that time Secretary, of the Wednesday Evening Century Club.